

old days, I am not sure senior citizens want a return to the good old days. I think they are happier with Medicare, and with a Social Security check coming in on a monthly basis. Remember: The Social Security checks they get are not welfare. That is money that is paid into a fund by employers and employees.

So I suggest that we have experienced a lot of good since the creation of some of these programs, and since they were initially debated. By most measures, the United States in 1995 is a dramatically better place to live than it was in 1965 if you are a senior citizen.

Of course, we have to do something about the crime that ravages senior citizens—violent crime, crimes involving telemarketing, and other things like that. We have to do a better job there. But as far as economic safety, security, 1995 for senior citizens is much better than 1965. The economy is more than twice as large in terms of real dollar. Poverty has declined in the senior population despite a larger population.

There are other good things that have happened. Twenty-five years ago the Cuyahoga River caught fire. A river in Ohio started burning. It was then determined that maybe we should do something about cleaning up our rivers and streams. The Clean Water Act was passed 25 years ago. What do we have now? We have greatly improved water. At the time the Cuyahoga River caught fire about 80 percent of the rivers and streams in this country were polluted. Now those figures have almost reversed. We do not have 80 percent of our rivers and streams polluted now. We have a little over 20 percent. We have made dramatic strides in clean water.

Clean air—even though we have millions of more cars on the road today than we had 25 years ago, because of the Clean Air Act our air is cleaner than it was 25 years ago. Scientific advances have allowed us to do that. Most people are healthier, living longer, and most jobs are less dangerous. Most discrimination has ended, especially formal discrimination. Education levels are at an all-time high even though our education system needs a lot more work done on it. I acknowledge that. But, Mr. President, out of the 141 top universities in the world, the United States has 129 out of 141. Our higher education is not touched by any other country. We need a lot of work with our elementary and secondary schools. Of course, we do. That is why we need to be putting more money in instead of less.

Personal freedom has been improved in modern-day America more than it was in the past. In fact, personal freedom has never been greater than it is today. Once reserved for the very rich, air travel have become commonplace.

I believe we are overlooking the reasons why the final decision of balancing the budget has to be thought

out and thought out well. There are programs and laws that improve lives, and they are worthy of defending as a matter of principle. It is not just about policy and numbers. It is about people. That is what this debate is about. The decisions we reach in the next few days, the next few weeks, and the next few months will have lasting consequence on all of us.

I close by referring to a Republican who said, "Spending on government programs, from Medicare and education, to home heating oil assistance, is to be reduced in ways that is principally a burden to the poor and the middle class—"talking about the bill the President vetoed"—while simultaneously taxes are to be cut in ways that predominantly benefit the top one or two percent of Americans."

So I say to those within the sound of my voice, the debate, Mr. President, is a debate on the difference between right and wrong. We feel we are on the right side of the issue and that we have to stand up for principle.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MACK. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HUTCHISON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO RETIRING SENATOR NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM

Mr. DODD. Madam President, expectations and reality are rarely one and the same. So when our colleague from the State of Kansas, Senator KASSEBAUM, says she never expected to be here in the U.S. Senate, it is not surprising that this is where she ended up. But very true to all expectations, Madam President, Senator KASSEBAUM has distinguished herself as one of this institution's best and brightest. So it is with reluctance that I rise to bid farewell to my dear friend and respected colleague.

Senator KASSEBAUM has graced the Halls of the U.S. Senate every single day of the almost 18 years she has spent here. Never partisan and always fair, her leadership of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources is exemplary, and it is a joy to serve with her on that body as well as on the Committee on Foreign Relations. Indeed, she has helped to keep the Senate's spirit of civility alive.

A leader, independent thinker, and mediator, Senator KASSEBAUM's record of accomplishment is lengthy and impressive. Aside from being the first female chair of a major committee in 40 years, she has managed to write a health insurance reform bill that has drawn Labor and Human Resources Committee consensus around this difficult and often controversial issue. She has been indispensable in reauthorizing the Ryan White Care Act, a program of great importance to the State of Connecticut, and has been a valuable supporter of the Head Start Program.

But Senator KASSEBAUM's accomplishments have improved the lives of those well beyond United States shores. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, she was invaluable in facilitating Central American peace initiatives and in finding political solutions to the conflict in El Salvador. And as chairwoman of the Subcommittee on African Affairs, she fought to bring an end to South African apartheid by supporting sanctions against that nation; she then facilitated their repeal upon the election of President Nelson Mandela.

And at home in Kansas, Madam President, Senator KASSEBAUM's constituents love her just as much as her Senate colleagues. Her overwhelming support at the polls—76 percent in 1984, and 74 percent in 1990—reflects Kansans' deep appreciation of her commitment to them. She has never wavered from the value her father instilled in her: that her roots were always in Kansas.

Madam President, both Senator KASSEBAUM and I are the children of public servants whose interest in politics and government service was nourished throughout our childhoods. To walk alongside Senator KASSEBAUM as both of us follow in our fathers' footsteps has fostered a special bond between us. We have served together on two committees, and have worked as trusted partners on many important issues. And I realize how fulfilling it must be for her, as she leaves this body, to know that she has made her father proud.

Senator KASSEBAUM is a noble servant of Kansans and all Americans, a cherished friend, and a beloved colleague whom I greatly admire. I will be sorry to see her leave the Senate, but I am confident that her spirit will endure. I wish her the very best as she approaches her retirement, and look forward to serving this last year with her.

TRIBUTE TO A MAN OF GREAT CONSCIENCE, RETIRING SENATOR MARK HATFIELD

Mr. DODD. Madam President, Senator HATFIELD's recent announcement that he would be leaving the U.S. Senate left me disappointed, for his departure from this body will mean the loss of yet another of the Senate's most honorable Members. For five terms,